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explained with clearness. No doubt the central fact is the rise of the Eastland Company on the ruins of the Steelyard—still it is a mistake to date the commencement of the company in the reign of Elizabeth. The charter of 1408 (Rymer, *Foedera*, VIII. 511), in giving the Eastland merchants the privilege of choosing governors and other rights, points to some kind of corporate life. Earlier than that—about the middle of the fourteenth century—there are indications of some kind of organization in the trade. Why this trade declined (as it seems to have done) by the middle of the sixteenth century is a problem: the reason of its advance toward the end of the reign of Elizabeth is to be found in the growing importance of the materials for the building and repair of ships. The dependence of England on imported powder (p. 229) is overstated. The country had a considerable home supply, but it could not be increased rapidly in an emergency. The conversion of Elizabethan currency into modern values (sterling) at a ratio of 1:5 is not very satisfactory. One would wish rather more detailed references than the symbols “A. P. C. X.” or “A and O”. Those who know the authorities will recognize what is intended, others are more likely to be puzzled than edified.

W. R. SCOTT.

*The Colonising Activities of the English Puritans: the last Phase of the Elizabethan Struggle with Spain.* By ARTHUR PERCIVAL NEWTON, Lecturer in Colonial History, University of London. With an Introduction by CHARLES M. ANDREWS. [Yale Historical Publications, Miscellany, I.] (New Haven: Yale University Press. 1914. Pp. x, 344.)

THE records of the Providence Company have hitherto been neglected by American historians, and many students will join Professor Andrews in welcoming this volume as filling in missing parts of our colonial history. Its scope is less broad than its title, since it devotes far more space to the colonies of adventure in the Caribbean Sea than to the contemporary foundation of the commonwealths of New England. Mr. Newton succeeds in linking these enterprises with the exploits of the Elizabethan interlopers and with the invaders of Jamaica—and he might have added, with the later buccaneers. The consolidation of the Puritan party under Pym's leadership during the twelve years of the personal government of Charles I. is also shown to be a result of the association of a score of notables in the Providence Company, of which Pym was the actual manager, though the Earl of Holland was its nominal governor. The Earl of Warwick, Holland's elder brother, may be regarded as the founder of the company, by which he hoped to renew the speculations which had been baffled by the opposing faction in the Virginia and Bermuda companies after 1620. Providence was gar- risoned in 1630 in order, as we are told by Sir William Monson, the

last of the Elizabethan admirals, "to nourish and uphold piracies". Though the introduction finds "the unity of Puritan activity in England and New England and the Caribbean" in these pages, the author admits that "the founding of an ideal community and the pursuit of a profitable investment are incompatible aims"; and he cites many pages of Winthrop's journal in which this incompatibility is manifested.

The islands of Old Providence and St. Andrews, which agents of the United States proposed to purchase from Colombia in 1913, were named in the patent to the adventurers in 1630, and the bounds were soon enlarged to include Association, the Tortuga of the buccaneers. These islands remained under the absolute rule of the company in London until they were recaptured by the Spaniard in 1641. The commonwealth of Massachusetts selected magistrates among actual settlers; and the hereditary principle was rejected in vigorous terms when it was proposed in 1636 to introduce an order of "gentlemen of the country", with a reservation of the higher offices for them and their heirs—a proposal which Mr. Newton thinks the colonists should have accepted as a reasonable interpretation of the English constitution. The offer made by two of the "Lords of Providence", Saye and Sele and Brooke, who wished to bring over "other persons of quality", resembles the "new plan to govern Virginia" presented to the king in 1623—perhaps by some ally of Warwick's—as a means to "suppress popular liberty". As an inducement to divert his voyage from New England to Providence in 1638, the company assured a notable minister that men of quality would be preferred in the council and magistracy in the island. To Winthrop, at least, the proposal to found a petty aristocracy under an absolute proprietor was objectionable. By 1640 the governor learned that the "Lords of Providence" were resolved to mobilize the population of New England—Pym counted on drawing men from Virginia also—for the invasion of the Spanish dominions in buccaneering fashion. Winthrop met Saye's plea for this migration, which was coupled with an argument for aristocracy, with due asperity; but Pym's speech in the Short Parliament, with its impatient plea for this transfer and its declaration that the king's reluctance to support privateering in the West Indies was one of the notable grievances of his subjects, had to remain unanswered; and it seems to have converted many divines of the Westminster Assembly into partizans of the enterprise in the Caribbean. Not many colonists were diverted to Providence; but Massachusetts furnished a governor to succeed Nathaniel Butler, one of Warwick's agents in dealing with pirates at Bermuda about 1620. John Humphry, a restless adventurer because of his aristocratic alliances, had long had an eye on Warwick's projects; and in 1630 he had urged the "choice people" of New England to please "our noble friends" by seeking adventures in other regions, leaving the worthless "mixt multitude" behind as tenants of the lands. Absenteeism had not answered in his case, and he was glad to accept a predatory appointment in 1641, though he could not sail in time to reach the island before it was taken by the Spaniards.

In spite of the complaints of the company recited in Pym's speech, Charles I. could hardly have gone further in aiding the West Indian project—unless he had been ready to employ the ship-money fleets in a Spanish war. The courtly Earl of Holland had found it easy to secure royal patents: the original boundaries were enlarged to cover Tortuga—but the Bahamas lay outside the project, as Mr. Newton has to insist in the face of current blunders; a forgotten patent of 1635 for traffic on the Main is here noted for the first time; and it is shown that the king licensed the company to make reprisal for the attack on Providence and the expulsion of the English from Tortuga. Early in 1636 ships were commissioned to take prizes from Spaniards “beyond the Canaries to the southward”—terms which warrant “No peace beyond the Line”, and show where the Line was, which Mr. Newton does not explain. He has also missed the most remarkable patent for buccaneering ever issued by an English sovereign. Following the terms of Richelieu's charter for his West India Company in 1634, Charles I. licensed Warwick and his associates in 1638 to seize ships, sack towns, and conquer territory wherever “the free navigation, trade, or commerce of any of our subjects is or shall be denied”.

The company had reported that their island could be made profitable only by war or reprisal; and privateering, of which a monopoly was claimed under the patents, was the main feature of the enterprise until Providence was retaken in 1641. Warwick continued to send roving squadrons to the West Indies for several years after that event. As admiral of England and governor-in-chief of the American plantations for the Long Parliament he could disregard the king's revocation of his patent and the remonstrances of the Spanish ambassador. Perhaps he was less of a pirate then than he had been when his ships disturbed traffic in the East and West Indies under a commission from Savoy. Mr. Newton deals gently with the Virginian phase of Warwick's career; he shows that the earl was no mere tool of the court; but he does not like to call him a pirate. The employment of Butler and Elfrith in Providence in spite of their piratical reputation, has to be noted in any discussion of the strife in the Virginia Company.

Access to original papers has given Mr. Newton advantages unattainable in America, and he has cleared up many dark corners. He has missed some printed material however; and he tells less than might be desired about Warwick's colonies at Trinidad and Ruatan, both more interesting than Saybrook, and quite as pertinent to his title. Nor does he allude to the repeated attempts of the Jamaican buccaneers to reclaim Providence under the patent granted to the company. Mr. Newton has few minor errors, and is diligent in economic detail; but some of us would like to be told more about the roving of Captain William Jackson up to 1645, and where he got the bells which used to hang in the steeples of Boston.

C. G. CALKINS.